

ER 9-2320A

13 APR 1957

Honorable Michael A. Feighan
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Feighan:

Thank you for your letter of 6 April 1957,
enclosing a copy of an article by Dr. Reuben Darbinian,
which we have read with interest.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

DATE: 25/2/81 REVIEWER: ☐

CONCUR:

☐

Asst. to DD/I (Plng)

CONCUR:

☐

Inspector General

STAT

Date 11/6/57

IG:LC/NSPaul:fm (9 Apr 57)

Distribution: O & 1 - Addressee, 2 - Signer, 2 - Leg. Counsel

(EXECUTIVE REGISTER FILE)

Orig - courtesy retyped as
papers were mutilated somewhat.
J. every.

10 April 1957

7-2421

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Correspondence with Congressman Feighan

1. It is recommended that the Director sign the attached letter to Congressman Feighan. It is little more than an acknowledgment, as the Office of the DD/I indicates that neither the author, Dr. Darbinian, nor his article is of any particular interest to us.
2. The Director may recall that he engaged in some correspondence with Congressman Feighan almost two years ago, which was initiated by Feighan after reading an article by the Director in the Washington Post of 3 July 1955 entitled, "Let's Look At Russia Honestly." Feighan took issue with certain points of the article and asked a number of questions. The correspondence was terminated by a letter from the Director on 2 August 1955 declining to engage in detailed correspondence on the subject, but repeating an earlier offer to get together with the Congressman. The Congressman evidently never took up the offer, although he did insert his letters to the Director, with accompanying remarks, into the Congressional Record.
3. I mention this only because the Darbinian article deals with the same type of argumentation which Feighan made two years ago, i.e. that there was too little attention being given to the problem of the non - great Russian groups within the U. S. S. R., such as the Armenians.

[Redacted Signature]

Norman S. Paul
Legislative Counsel

STAT

cc: DDCI

MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
20TH DISTRICT, OHIO

MEMBER OF
JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April 6, 1957

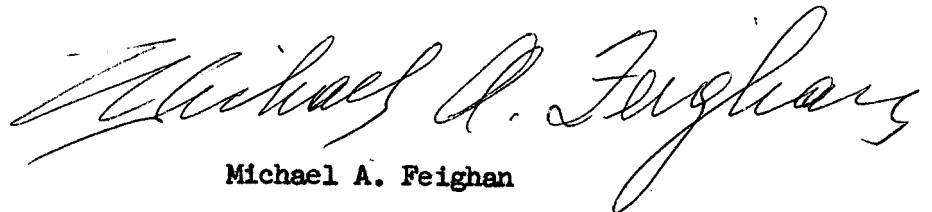
9-2320

Dear Mr. Dulles:

Knowing of your long standing interest in the Russian problem, I think you will be interested in the enclosed article by the distinguished scholar, Dr. Reuben Darbinian, which I have inserted in the Congressional Record.

I would be pleased to have any comments you might care to make on it.

Sincerely,



Michael A. Feighan

Honorable Allen W. Dulles
Director of Central Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 E Street
Washington 25, D. C.

Enclosure

April 5

A2752

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

understand the power behind the conspiracy of communism. Under leave obtained, I include the article on the Great-Russian and the Communist Movement:

THE GREAT-RUSSIAN AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

(By Reuben Darbinian)

A FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION

The Great-Russians, or the Velikorussians, as they call themselves, constitute less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, and yet they, as well as many westerners, have persisted in dubbing the non-Russian nationalities of the Union as minorities.

Few are not the westerners, especially the Americans, who think the population of the Soviet Union is the same kind of conglomeration as the population of the United States, and by the same logic, the so-called Republics of the Soviet Union, from the population viewpoint, present a phenomenon which is analogous to the 48 States of the United States. The presumption is, since the population of the 48 States present no radical differences nationally, and since they all speak the English language, America is comparable to the peoples of the 15 Republics of the Soviet Union. This fallacious analogy places the Soviet Republics in the same category as the American States.

In reality, however, the 15 Republics of the Soviet Union are totally unlike the 48 States of the American Union because the overwhelming majority of each of these Republics speak different languages and constitute different nationalities.

In Soviet Armenia, for instance, the overwhelming majority of the people are Armenians and the dominant language is the Armenian. The same is true of Georgia, where the dominant element and the spoken language is Georgian. In Soviet Azerbaijan the dominant element are the Tartars and the spoken language is a Turkish dialect. This is also true of Ukraine and the rest of the so-called Soviet Republics.

As seen, every one of the so-called non-Russian minorities of the Soviet Union, within its own frontiers, is in reality a majority, therefore, it is both wrong and a rank injustice to call them minorities, especially when we consider that, in their totality, they outnumber the Great-Russians.

After establishing this basic, indisputable fact, it might correctly be observed that the Soviet Union also includes minorities in the accepted sense such as prevail in the United States and other western countries. Each of the 15 Republics of the Soviet Union has its own minorities.

In Soviet Armenia, alongside the native majority, live Turkish and Russian minorities; Georgia has Armenian and Turkish minorities; and Azerbaijan Tartars have their Armenian and Russian minorities.

These minorities exclude those masses of people who have become minorities artificially, and through administrative or political separation have been annexed to the territory of a foreign nation, such as the Armenian province of Akhalkalak, which was unjustly annexed to Georgia, or the Armenian-populated mountainous Karabagh, which was made a part of Azerbaijan.

The real minorities in the accepted sense are those which voluntarily or by forced deportations have been planted on the territory of an alien nation and have become reconciled with living alongside the native majority. These naturally cannot have any right to political independence.

What interests us here are not debatable mass segments which have been grafted on the body politic of a foreign people, but the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union which erroneously have been called minorities, notwithstanding the fact that within the frontiers of their own historical fatherlands they constitute overwhelming

majorities, have merited the exalted title of Soviet Republic and, at least on paper, have even the right of seceding from the Union and forming an independent state if they so desire.

It is these nationalities which the great Russians have succeeded in branding with the derogatory name of minorities. The great Russians succeeded in this business of defamation by virtue of their armed conquest of minorities which, taken as a whole, outnumber the Russians, but taken each separately are smaller than the Russian population.

This is no reason at all, however, why this fallacious tag, outrageously forced on the non-Russian nationalities, should cause such confusion of minds as to lead men to think that these nationalities are real minorities in the commonly accepted sense, and, therefore, they have no right to aspire to political independence.

One of the most stubborn obstacles to a proper understanding of the psychology of Russia's non-Russian nationalities is the Great-Russian reluctance to reconcile themselves with the idea that these peoples who were conquered by the czars and the Soviet masters, now striving for their independence, have a perfect right to secede from mother Russia. This is most unfortunate, because any ultimate solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is contingent on Great-Russian willingness, understanding, and cooperation. Secession from mother Russia the Great-Russians regard as nothing but the dismemberment of the one and indivisible Russia, an unpardonable crime.

No matter how strong the Great-Russian opposition, the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, however, is a foregone conclusion as an historical inevitability. The days of all types of imperialism are numbered and all subjugated peoples will achieve their independence sooner or later, one way or another. Already a number of peoples under English, French, and Dutch imperialism have won their independence and the rest are on the road to complete emancipation. It is only the Soviet or Russian imperialistic empire which, although having changed the form but never having denied the substance, still persists in fighting off the course of history with its huge armies. The persistence will avail the Soviet nothing. As recent events in Poland and Hungary have demonstrated, sooner or later the Soviet Empire will be forced to follow the road of all other imperialisms.

Somewhat different but partly consistent with the Great-Russian stand is the view prevalent among the anti-Communist democratic groups of Great-Russians who regard as imperialistic acquisitions only those conquests which were made after World War II—Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Western Germany. They never regard the forced acquisitions of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Transcasian countries as imperialistic conquests. They justify this preposterous stand by the absurd contention that these non-Russian republics have historically become organic and inseparable parts of Russia. Curiously enough the conquest of these peoples was no different from the conquest of the above-mentioned satellite states of Eastern Europe. The fact that the latter peoples have assimilated some elements of Russian culture in no wise changes the political situation. It does not doom the subjugated peoples to eternal servitude of the Russian state. Even accepting the oft advanced parent-and-children relationship between the Great-Russians and the subjugated non-Russian nationalities, it stands to reason that, once these children have come of age, they have a perfect right to leave the paternal hearth and seek a separate life of their own.

Another attitude peculiar to the anti-Communist segment of the Great-Russians is their keen resentment whenever anyone holds the Russian people responsible for the creation of the Communist establishment. They resentfully point out, alongside the names of Lenin, Bukharin, and Rykov, such non-Russian names as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Stalin, Miasnikian, and Mikoyan. Is it not true that representatives of all nationalities of Russia took part in the Communist revolution of 1917? Why pick out, necessarily, only the Russians and not the rest?

It is quite true that Lenin's collaborators included a large number of non-Russians who, as individuals, had a great share in the Bolshevik victory. The issue here is not the responsibility of individuals, but the responsibility of peoples insofar as they can be responsible for good or bad deeds in a given country.

Approached from this angle, it is incontestable that the introduction of Soviet tyranny was the work exclusively of the Great-Russians. The Soviet evil became entrenched in Russia proper through internal conspiracy, without external aid, and even despite foreign opposition, whereas in all the rest of the non-Russian nationalities of the Czarist empire the Soviet was implanted through the intervention of the armed forces of Russia proper, i. e., through foreign intervention.

This is an irrefutable historical fact which deserves a bit more comprehensive treatment.

AN IRREFUTABLE HISTORICAL FACT

What happened in the Russian Empire when Lenin and his confederates through internal conspiracy seized the power in Petrograd and Moscow was no mere accident. Nor was it a mere accident when they were trying to consolidate their power in Russia proper—Veliko-Russia, to be precise, when they emerged victorious over the anti-Communist opposition, that all the rest of non-Russian nationalities of the empire not only refused to recognize the Soviet Government of Moscow but they went one step farther and declared their independence.

Lastly, it was no mere accident that in all the non-Russian nationality regions the domestic Communists always proved a contemptible force despite their all-out subversive activities. They not only failed to seize the power but they did not even become a serious danger to the established anti-Soviet governments of their own new republics.

It is an irrefutable fact of history that bolshevism, or communism, became entrenched exclusively in Russia proper through internal conspiracy and without outside aid, even despite foreign opposition. And while it is quite true that the majority of Great-Russians never sympathized with bolshevism and even waged a fierce civil war against it, nevertheless, it is equally true that only in Veliko-Russia could bolshevism appeal to the masses to a sufficient degree to shatter all internal opposition.

After registering this ringing fact, it is pertinent to note that all the rest of non-Russian regions of the Russian Empire were sovietized solely by the Red armies sent from Moscow and never through the triumph of the domestic Communists, or internal conspiracy.

No one will gainsay the fact that, quite naturally, there were many non-Russians who assisted in the Bolshevik conquest of Russia proper. But who can deny also that there were many foreigners and Russians who collaborated with the domestic Communist conspirators in the non-Russian regions? And while this riffraff of Russians and non-Russians succeeded in creating a formidable force in Russia proper which enabled them to seize the power, in the non-Russian nationality regions the same kind of riffraff did

1957

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A2751

By no stretch of the imagination can it be said that social equality is a natural right. In fact, one who so maintains inferentially denies the right of the individual to pursue happiness in the way he sees fit. Companionship is undoubtedly an essential ingredient of happiness, but only if it is congenial, and that is a matter of individual discrimination. A prudish woman would find little joy in being compelled to fraternize with a woman of light morals, a man of literary tastes would find no contentment in the company of illiterates—particularly if he had no choice in the matter. Association without discrimination is the rule of the prison, which is no place for pursuing happiness. A law which prescribes social integration, on any score, transgresses a natural right of man.

The enforcements of civil rights are dead set against discriminatory practices on the grounds of race or religion in the hiring of employees. However, they find nothing wrong with laws that enable unions to exclude from employment those workers who do not wish to belong to them. One kind of discrimination is wrong, the other is right. Yet, the fact is that discrimination in the selection of business associates is a matter of conscience and convenience, a natural prerogative, and not within the scope of the law. If an employer prefers an incompetent worker to a competent one, for any reason, he may be acting foolishly, as the market will shortly inform him, but he does not violate a natural right; the worker cannot derive from his kinship to God any claim to a particular job. Likewise, the worker who refuses to work alongside another, for any reason, is pursuing happiness in his own peculiar way. Wherein in the nature of things is it writ that an atheist may demand employment in a religious publishing house?

In one respect, the civil-rights bills now pending do pay homage to natural rights; it is in a provision that some of them contain outlawing lynching. Lynching is murder, which is not only in violation of natural rights, but is also in violation of statutes now on the books. Why this new concern with lynching, a form of homicide far less prevalent than love murders? The answer to this question lies in the enforcement clause that appears in various forms in all of these bills; it puts apprehension and punishment in the hands of Federal, rather than local, authorities, not only for lynching but also for violation of any of the proposed civil-rights laws.

The title of one of these bills reveals the purpose of those pushing for their enactment. It reads: "To protect the civil rights of individuals by establishing a Commission of Civil Rights in the executive branch of Government, a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, to strengthen the criminal laws protecting the civil rights of individuals, and for other purposes."

There we have the real motive of the agitation. The concern of the agitators is not in what is called civil rights but in the further strengthening of the Federal Government, the establishment of another powerful bureaucracy, the putting of another club in the hands of a national police. The title of another of these bills makes this point clear: "To declare certain rights of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States." That is to say, the citizen is to be deprived of the protection of his local government, over which he has some measure of control, and placed under the jurisdiction of a government less amenable to his inclinations. If he violates any provision of the civil rights legislation—even though in pursuance of his natural rights—he will be subject to arrest by Federal police and punishment by a Federal court; local sentiment, operating through a jury of peers, will not protect him.

Civil rights, therefore, becomes a vehicle for that concentration of power which the Bill of Rights specifically prohibits, and for the further downgrading of the authority of the States.

Speaking on one of these bills, Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER, Republican, of New York, said: "This bill in its present form gives no right, no privilege, no benefit to a single individual in the United States that he does not already have. But what does it do? It creates a commission with authority to subpoena us any place, to Washington, California, or Texas, and hold us under subpoena at our own expense interminably. On what? Some allegation perhaps that I am exerting unwarranted economic pressure on somebody. Who? The corner grocer who alleges that I do not trade with him and get my friends not to trade with him because he is a Jew or a Catholic."

The bill in question, illustrative of the entire batch of bills, gives the Attorney General authority to hale into court a State official who, in performance of his duties, enforces local voting laws, whether in respect to literacy requirements, residential requirements, or whatnot. It makes it possible for the proposed Commission to drag a man away from his home to a distant court, on its own whim or on a charge made by an unnamed neighbor, for examination of the secret thoughts of his heart or of his secret opinion. Furthermore—and here we see how the proponents of civil rights think—it provides that the Commission may utilize the services of volunteers in the detection of violators of its decrees; thus it opens the door for that malicious snooping on neighbors and relatives that characterized nazism and is encountered in communistic countries. What would prevent the Commission from offering a fee for information leading to prosecution? And would not the morally deficient collectivists be the most willing volunteers?

The target for this crop of civil-rights laws is the South where the impact of the infamous reconstruction has left its mark in legal disabilities imposed on the Negro. The same racial prejudice is present in the North, but is more subtly expressed, as, for instance, the exodus of whites from Manhattan and Brooklyn to the suburbs of New York, leaving large residential districts in these two boroughs in possession of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. But in the South there are laws, and laws are more vulnerable to attack than social customs and habits of mind. The reason for selecting the anti-Negro laws of the South is purely political: the Negro vote is at stake.

If the truth were known, it would show that many of the Congressmen plugging for these laws on humanitarian grounds do not practice what they preach. In Washington, where Negroes constitute 35 percent of the adult population and 70 percent of the school population, these Congressmen move away from neighborhoods as the Negroes move in. They make sure that their children are educated either in public schools where Negroes constitute only 1 or 2 percent of the student body, or else in private schools, which, though they do not discriminate against Negroes, are financially out of their reach. Except in political clubs, neither legislators nor their wives socialize with Negroes. Their enthusiasm for civil rights is in proportion to the number of Negro voters in their respective districts.

The civil rights bills, if enacted, will not accomplish the purposes ascribed to them. More likely, the prejudice which the years have been gradually eroding will be revived and exacerbated by this attempt to make people good by law. The difficulties of enforcement will in short order give these laws nothing but a nuisance value for the purposes of professional do-gooders and determined collectivists. The politicians who are now urging these laws will lose interest in them as soon as the primary purpose, the

capturing of the Negro vote, shall have been accomplished.

One more thing will remain. That is the accretion of power in the Central Government. The bureaucracy will be enlarged, and to insure itself of an improvement of its perquisites and an expansion of its prerogatives it will find reason for widening the provisions of the laws by interpretation. For instance, there is some agitation at present for the abolition of college fraternities on the ground that these voluntary associations are discriminatory; the Commission could bestir itself in that direction. It could, by interpretation, justify an investigation of discriminatory practices in the handling of unemployment funds on the local level, say, the exclusion of Communists from the largess or the preference given them. Conceivably, the Commission might look into local laws putting disabilities on prostitutes. And so on.

The issue involved is not North versus South. Basically, it is constitutional government versus government by commission. It is civil rights versus natural rights.

Let's Look at Russia Honestly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1957

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Russian problem is an important one to the people of the United States. It causes the American taxpayers to pay out about \$40 billion per year for programs calculated to build and maintain an international security system to defeat the Russian imperialists. It is also important because the present-day Russian Empire is the graveyard of once free and independent nations—many of which aspired to associate their destiny with that of the United States. Finally, we seek a solution to the Russian problem in order to restore freedom and dignity to millions and millions of people enslaved and exploited by communism—the new whip of Russian despotism.

Before we can resolve the Russian problem, we must first understand it. To understand it we must strip away the many layers of Russian and Communist propaganda which have concealed the very core of this urgent problem. To look at Russia honestly—and dispassionately—we must use the eyes of competent and proven scholars and statesmen from the nations now enslaved within the Russian Empire. One such scholar is Reuben Darbinian, who served as Minister of Justice for the Independent Armenian Republic of 1918–21 and served in that capacity with distinction until the Russians, by concerted acts of subversion, infiltration, and military aggression, destroyed that independent Republic. Dr. Darbinian understands the Russian problem and takes an honest look at it in the spring 1957 issue of *Armenian Review*. His article entitled "The Great-Russian and the Communist Movement," is a penetrating analysis of how some Americans have been so taken in by Russian propaganda propaganda that it is impossible for them to really

A2754

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

April 5, 1957

often profiting by the use of the forces of the very nations.

CHAUVINISM IN THE GARB OF COMMUNISM

Whenever there is a question of nazism the Russian anti-Communist democrats, as well as many Western journalists, never make a sharp distinction between nazism (national socialism) and the German people as they do between bolshevism and the Russian people. They never say the German people were not responsible for the emergence of nazism. On the contrary they insist that nazism was the child of the German people, therefore the latter can never shake off the responsibility for nazism's crimes.

But when the discussion turns to bolshevism, there is a strong tendency on the part of Russians and many Westerners to absolve the Russian people of the crimes of bolshevism. It turns out that bolshevism is essentially an international phenomenon and never Russian, and this makes all the nations responsible for the crimes of communism.

This conclusion is, of course, highly superficial.

It is quite true that bolshevism under the label of communism has become an international movement with international slogans and ideology, and it is equally true that bolshevism has managed to win followers among all peoples. Nazism, on the other hand, was essentially a national movement based upon the concept of the superiority of the German race.

Nevertheless it will not be gainsaid that nazism under the name of fascism, took root in other countries as an international movement which strove to arouse in those peoples the spirit of their national excellence. Similarly bolshevism, garbed in the internationalist uniform, is essentially a chauvinistic movement which strives for the supremacy of Great Russia, with this difference that bolshevism is more cleverly disguised under the cloak of communism.

It can confidently be stated that, had communism first triumphed in any western European country, it would have been far different than the Russian bolshevism which became entrenched strictly through the means of the Russian people. In reality, the power, or the movement, which under the label of communism today threatens the peace and the freedom of entire mankind is nothing but a movement which was conceived and molded in the womb of the Russian people, and stamped with the worst characteristics of that people.

Actually bolshevism is the nazism of the Russian people, even as nazism was the bolshevism of the German people. Essentially both are the one and the same thing, differing from each other only in their ideological garb. Like nazism, bolshevism did not drop down out of a clear blue sky. As nazism took forms of varying degrees in Italy and Germany befitting the characteristics of each people, so bolshevism with its familiar attributes could have triumphed only in Russia. This circumstance in no wise detracts from the splendid qualities of the Russian people—their invaluable contributions to the arts, the sciences and literature, much the same as nazism could not obscure the contributions of the German genius in the fields of science, philosophy, music and literature.

True, communism is not a Russian concept but was born and took form as a "social science" in Western Europe. Similarly, the international Communist movement is not of Russian origin and communism took root in Russia not as a Russian movement but essentially as an international nonpatriotic, and even an antipatriotic movement.

But it is equally true that, after seizing the power the Russian leaders of communism, beginning with Lenin and especially Stalin until the present day Khrushchevs, slowly

and imperceptibly became the ringleaders of Great-Russian chauvinism to whom communism is no longer an aim but a means to an end. Essentially it was this circumstance which enabled them to perpetuate their power in Russia. Essentially it was this circumstance which enabled them to emerge victorious in World War II. And it was this same circumstance which enabled them to reconquer the non-Russian nationalities which had recovered their independence on the ruins of the czarist empire.

There can be no question that, had Russian bolshevism faced the free world without a disguise and had operated as the exponent of Great-Russian imperialism, it would have made little headway in the free countries of the world in gaining followers. Unquestionably the Communist mask is a great aid in hooking countless gullibles among the non-Russians, something which German nazism was unable to accomplish because it lacked any such clever ideological masquerade.

This fact was made apparent by the inveterate hostility which Stalin and his heirs exhibited toward all national Communist movements and their leaders of the non-Russian nationalities under their control. During the last 30 years the leaders of these national Communist movements attempted to deviate from the path mapped out by Moscow in their effort to arrive at communism in their own individual ways. These attempts were made not only in the non-Russian nationality countries of the Soviet Union but in the satellite countries as well. However, they all were liquidated with the exception of Tito and his comrades and quite recently Gomulka of Poland.

If the bosses of the Kremlin were really bent on serving the interests of communism and not their Great-Russian chauvinism they would not have forced their will on the Communist governments of the non-Russians, nor would they have insisted on the teaching of the Russian language as obligatory. To men who are sincerely dedicated to the cause of communism it would have made little difference by what road or in what language the final goal is reached. The thing which would have mattered would have been loyalty to those objectives.

True, after the death of Stalin, the Khrushchevs and the Bulganins showed a more tolerant attitude toward the Titoists and even went so far as to promise to recognize the right of all nationality Communists to pursue the path of communism in their individual national way. They made substantial concessions to Gomulka in this respect. But after the uprising in Hungary, even Khrushchev who only a few months before had discredited Stalin was forced to confess that he and his comrades were firm Stalinists. As to what real Stalinism means the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China only recently gave an eloquent definition:

"Stalin in his relations with the brotherly countries showed a certain tendency to Great-Russian chauvinism. This he expressed in his denials of the independence and the equality of rank of Communist parties and Communist countries. Stalin sometimes unjustly intervened in their internal affairs—an intervention which resulted in serious consequences."

If the Communist Chinese were not vitally interested in cooperating with the present Soviet dictators they would surely have admitted that, no less than Stalin, his successors are running a Great-Russian imperialistic policy. It is highly significant that the greatest friends of Red Moscow, such as the Chinese Communists, publicly emphasize, even if indirectly, the Great-Russian chauvinism of the Soviet leaders.

It is a deplorable fact that the Russian democrats, while fiercely fighting against the Soviet dictatorship, fail to perceive the chau-

vinism of the Soviet leaders under their masquerade. By such an attitude they render exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, any concerted action against the common enemy, to say nothing of their indirectly encouraging chauvinism among the Russian people.

There can be no question that the Russian people itself will greatly benefit once it sheds off its imperialistic airs and retrenches itself within its ethnological frontiers; for only then will the Russian people be able to develop its innate great talents and to insure for itself a free, untroubled and autonomous national existence. Only then will Russia cease to be a menace to the freedom of neighboring nations and to the peace of the world.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

1957

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A2753

not get to first base without outside aid, namely, the Russian Red armies.

Indicative of the non-Russian peoples' disposition toward the Soviet is a characteristic incident. When Lenin seized the power in Moscow, he appointed his friend, the well-known Armenian Communist Stepan Shahoumian as "Viceroy" of Transcaucasus. Shahoumian met with such hostility in Tiflis, the capital of the Transcaucasian government consisting of the Armenians, the Azeri and the Georgians, that he was forced to flee Tiflis to avoid arrest.

Again, during the May uprising of the Communists in Armenia in 1920, the conspirators were easily defeated by the people of Armenia. Similar attempts to overthrow the governments were tried in all the non-Russian-nationality countries of the Soviet Union but everywhere the conspirators miserably failed. It was after these failures that the Soviet Government in Moscow mobilized its armies and conquered these independent countries one by one.

The fact is, the 14 non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union were conquered by Moscow precisely in the same manner as the satellite countries were conquered by the Soviet after World War II. Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Eastern Germany were conquered outright; Czechoslovakia was sovietized by the mere threat of the Red army in 1948; and the Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were annexed without any ceremonies, even though they had enjoyed an independent life over 20 years and they had shown no disposition to join the Soviet Union.

Curiously enough, even the greatest exponents of western democracy among the Great-Russians make a fine distinction between the Soviet satellites and the non-Russian nationalities which had been incorporated by the Czars and their Soviet successors. They are reluctant to accord the same right to the latter through various facetious arguments. In reality there is no basic difference either in the form of their conquests or their aspirations to a separate, independent national life.

There can be no doubt that the Great-Russian people itself is a victim of the Soviet tyranny, and we might say the first victim. On the other hand it cannot be gainsaid that, unfortunately, it has also become the tool of the same tyranny in its imperialistic ambitions and in the enslavement of countless non-Russian peoples.

Another curious aspect of Great-Russian mentality is their emphasis on what might be interpreted as Russian chauvinism. In all the republics and the satellites of the Soviet Empire it is only Russia proper, or Veliko-Russia, whose nationalistic vanity or great state ambitions have received and are receiving satisfaction from the conquests of Soviet tyranny. Only in Veliko-Russia can communism be tolerated as a means of the preservation and the extension of extreme Russian chauvinism, whereas in the satellite and subjugated countries communism not only does not serve as nationalism in disguise but it is an alien force imposed from the outside, diametrically opposed to the national sentiments of these peoples.

It is safe to say that either in the satellite countries or the 14 non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union the Soviet power will not last 24 hours once the Red armies depart from their frontiers or the Soviet tyranny in Moscow is overthrown.

In other words the governments of these countries are plain puppets, therefore it is meaningless to wage war against them without waging war against their masters who are entrenched in Moscow and are held in power mainly through the support of the Great-Russian people. The recent developments in Eastern Germany, in Poland and Hungary have clearly proved that until the Soviet

power is overthrown in Moscow or Veliko-Russia, no Soviet-enslaved nation can breathe freely and recover its lost independence.

The struggles of these enslaved peoples cannot be waged successfully in isolated effort. A united effort is necessary to overthrow the Soviet tyranny.

The question is, What really is the Soviet tyranny? What sort of imperialistic power is the Soviet? Is it the Communist international which threatens the peace of the world today? Or is it another sort of power which, under the guise of communism, has been entrenched in Moscow and which, with its armies and its gangs of arsonists, threatens to engulf the whole of mankind?

COMMUNISM OR GREAT RUSSIAN NATIONALISM?

From the days Stalin exterminated Lenin's collaborators and all the old Bolsheviks who posed as a menace to his personal dictatorship, communism, as an internationally ideological social movement ceased to exist as far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

Indeed, what sort of ideological movement could linger in a land where even the Communists could not give free expression to their honest convictions, where every man, to save his skin, was forced to conform to the commands of the dictator under penalty of death, and where, lastly, no one could be sure of even a brief and barely tolerable life for himself and his family without simulating enthusiastic zeal for everything which the dictator said and did? In the world of Stalin's creation it was not honest conviction but the motive of fear, gain, personal safety, and the possibility of a career only which drove men into the lap of the reigning Communist Party.

This fact became obvious during World War II when Stalin set aside his Communist slogans which he well knew could never appeal to the human heart and promulgated patriotic slogans and aims which spoke to all hearts. Once again it was eloquently demonstrated in Hungary where the Communist Party, with a membership of 900,000, literally melted away during the first few days of the popular uprising.

Nevertheless it is noteworthy that, after the experiment of World War II, Stalin saw fit to return to his bankrupt communism which had become perfectly odious to the people and to retain it as the official religion of the Soviet Government. He did this not because he wanted to establish communism as his primary aim but because its retention was felt necessary as the only instrument for the realization of objectives which had no connection whatsoever with communism.

What were these objectives?

First and foremost, there was the matter of the preservation of the Soviet dictatorship at any price. At least for Stalin there was no higher objective than the security of his personal dictatorship for the sake of which he did not hesitate to exterminate even the foremost apostles of communism. But Stalin realized that, to be able to justify his dictatorship, he needed a far more powerful lever than communism as such. Such a lever could easily be found only in the concept of a Great-Russian nation, clearly demonstrated during World War II when he invoked not the founders of communism—Marx, Engels, and Lenin—but the historical heroes of the Great-Russian nation, such as Dmitri-Donskoy, Minin, Pojarski, Field Marshals Suvorov and Kutuzov, and others. At the conclusion of the war at the victory celebration at the Kremlin, his historic speech was an unrestrained eulogy of the Great-Russian people which merited the main honor of the victory and which he proclaimed as the big brother of all the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Since the Great-Russian nation was Stalin's supreme weapon, it will be asked quite nat-

urally why, after the war, did he not discard the hated communism and make Russian nationalism the official religion of the Soviet Union?

The answer to this question is very simple. Stalin could not have done it even if he wanted to do so. Why? Because the communism which the Bolsheviks created in Russia is such a system of political, economic, social, and spiritual enslavement that, without it, he could not have supported his total dictatorship. Besides, in the eyes of the outside world his prestige would be immeasurably enhanced through the promotion of communism rather than Russian nationalism. Only communism could have rallied around him his fifth columnists in the free west.

Needless to say, the same considerations are being utilized by Stalin's successors who are no less champions of Great-Russian nationalism both in the Soviet Union, the satellite countries, and the free world. Communism, they maintained, was ever ready for international "peaceful" cooperation. It was through this game only that Stalin's successors tried, and still try, to win over the neutrals, all the way from Tito's Yugoslavia to Nehru's India and Indonesia. The Kremlin bosses well realize that Great-Russian chauvinistic declarations would redound adversely much the same as Hitler's German chauvinism was his undoing.

Russian democratic leaders resent keenly every time Western leaders identify the Soviet imperialistic policy with czarist imperialism, interpreting it as the continuation of "Great-Russian" ambitions which basically remain unchanged, although they operate under a different name and form.

While the czars extended their empire by armed force, their successors who call themselves Communists, aside from armed force, make use of other means for the extension of their empire. Sometimes these means are even more effective than armed force, such as the economic weapon, the fifth columns, the propaganda arm, subversion, and internal penetration. And if these weapons are not wholly successful, at least they pave the way for the success of armed intervention.

Could it be that the non-Russian leaders and the journalists are wholly unjust when they consider the present Soviet imperialism as the continuation of the czarist policy? Is the Soviet imperialism of today really very different from the erstwhile Great-Russian nationalistic ambitions for expansion?

Had there been a fundamental difference between the two, after the overthrow of the czarist despotism when the non-Russian nationalities seceded from the Great-Russians and declared their independence, why then did the new government entrenched in Moscow reconquer these peoples with armed force and reannex them to Great-Russia?

If there had been any fundamental difference between the "Great-Russia" concept and the present Soviet imperialism, why then did the Soviet Government at the close of World War II profit from the spoils of the war much the same as the czarist government assuredly would have done?

Be it remembered that the Great-Russians even lack the German excuse for their expansionist policies because few peoples on the globe command such extensive territories as Russia does. Therefore Great-Russia has no cause for casting covetous eyes on the territories of her neighbors, much less to enslave them. Even if all the non-Russian peoples who have been subjugated by the Great-Russians should secede from the empire, there will be enough territory left for Russia for her normal development. Therefore, Russia has no valid cause for holding on to the territories of the non-Russians which she has conquered by armed force,